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Counter-Appeal,

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TO THE

P E O P L E

O F

IRELAND.



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DUBLIN;

Printed in the Year MDCCXLIX.

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O F

I R E L A N D.

**I**N any Country, where Liberty is not thoroughly extinguished, where the faintest Ray of virtue and Freedom remains, heats, and Heart-burnings will naturally become the consequences of a long suspension of natural Rights. Slaves indeed will bear any thing; they will certainly crouch to any Indignity, any Insult, any Scourge of Government: Renouncing reason, and the uses of reason, they become as docile as any other beasts



Beasts of Burthen.—Forgetful of the past, passive for the present, unthoughtful of the future ; they live and dye like their Brethren of the Field, without repining, without concern ; without a thought, hardly of any Object about them, or beyond them.—It is far otherwise with rational beings, who have their hopes, and fears, their reason, and judgments, alarming, or disarming them ; People who know the uses and feel the abuses of Government ; who can bear greatly and worthily, until they can bear no longer ; they sooner or later will throw up Banks against the Torrent of political Violence ; they will prescribe just bounds to boundless Authority, or be crushed, (as it oft happens) beneath the weight of it.—Whether from external Blows, or inward Imposthumes ; whether from the violence of those who Administer, or the resentments of those who feel, for the Public, the corruption of the Legislative Powers, or the just complaints of those for whom this Legislation was appointed ; whether from the Gordian Concatenation of *legal Tyranny*, the Complex Seduction of indefinite and contradictory Powers ; an intolerable dereliction of all political virtue ; on the side of the Governors, or the *Heroic stand* of a few brave Men, on the side of the governed ; whether, I say, from one or all of these causes, (for like a complication of disorders in the human Body, they oft concur, by contrary Operations, to work the cure of the whole) certain it is, that, sooner or later, Periods will occur, (whether by fortuitous Coincidence or occasional impulse) in which a whole Nation will be roused from an insensibility, it is thrown into by a long forbearance of evil, and well contended, in earnest, for those rights which could not be taken from them, without Injustice and Treachery ; without a deviation from that Line of Government, which ought to be visible to all, and is never removed out of the way, but for the vilest purposes, and to attain the vilest ends.

We are arrived at a “ Period of time, Countrymen,  
 “ the most critical, the most important, and the most  
 “ interesting,



“*interesting*, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution.” We thank God, and your own virtues, you have shewn a spirit adequate to the Importance of it, a spirit little expected; an active, an honest, and rational Spirit, worthy of Men and Freemen, has diffused itself through the whole Nation; what carries about it all the Characteristics of honour and virtue, without Riot or Tumult; arising from no contention for Places or Employments, from no suspected, or suspectable Principles, from no corruption in the People, no selfish ends in their Leaders, and consequently no way problematical, no way liable to objections which are often justly made in the case of popular Demagogues, who may impose and generally have, in all Ages, infused their own *Ambition* for *Patriotism*, and gulled these Nations out of those Rights, they were brought in to restore.

Who then, Countrymen, has raised this Spirit among you? who, revived you from that Lethargy in which you appeared so long and so deadly absorbed? who called forth your latent virtue?——a private Freeman, a *Citizen of Dublin*, Countrymen: An ornament to his Country and to human nature; one, who, though confined to a low station, argues your Cause, (the Cause of Mankind) with those in the highest: Intimidated by no Power, molested by no Abuse, disarmed by no Ingratitude, he at this Minute stands foremost against all the combined Powers of Authority, of Calumny and Rage.——Unaided by what the World calls, Learning, he has informed your mute body-politic: By a *Precision*, which Nature only can bestow, and a great Heart-Vent, he taught what sort of Language you are to Speak, while he imposed a sullen silence on those who by their Stations and Talents, were deemed to have, equally ha, great Powers, ’till debarred by Fears, and those honest reasonings upon them, which no human oratory can withstand. This extraordinary Man, so little regarded at first, became, in the course of time, the Object of all Mens attention; of the Friends, as well as Enemies, of Liberty. The stern Menaces of the latter, roused the

the former ; the best Men, and finest Pens in the Kingdom flew to his, and your assistance ; finally, the whole Nation fell in with the *free Citizens* of *Dublin* ; and at this day, Countrymen, the Eyes of three Kingdoms are upon you, after many struggles for Liberty in a *Neighbouring Kingdom*, they cannot, without shame and Envy, see her standard erected in this. “ It is in *Ireland*, and in *Ireland* alone, (says a great Writer,) that the Life of *Essential Liberty*, seems at length to revive, where *Virtue* seems to prepare her *Seat*, and her *Habitation* ; while these few Nations, who boast *remaining Freedom* are enslaved by their Appetites, and prepared for *outward Chains*, by inward Depravity, while, even in *Britain*, the *Terms of Liberty*, and *Patriotism* are secretly (and he might say avowedly) ridiculed as *Chimerical*, as *Topics of Speculation*, rather than reality ; it is to *Ireland* alone, as to the Heart, where the *Animal Spirits*, the *vital Heat* of *political Nature* appear to make their retreat, &c.”

And are you not animated, my Countrymen, by a distinction so glorious, by a condition so superior to that of all other Freemen, at this day, existing on the Face of this habitable Earth ? can you forbear going forward ? can you avoid setting the example to our listless, our stupefied Neighbours ? or will you now basely desert them, your selves, your Posterity, by deserting the standard under which you have so lately listed ?---you in particular, the glorious *Freemen* and *Citizens* of *Dublin*, on whom our *All* depends in the Choice of *Citizens* to represent you in Parliament ; can you now look back and shrink from your known virtue ? will you, madly, or inconsiderately, put your strength and your Arms into the Hands of your Enemies, who never yet gave the least earnest of a good intention towards you, who will undoubtedly worry you with those very Weapons, which you can never call back ? your honesty and virtue, Gentlemen, will teach you better things ; and believe it from me, that it is upon your Conduct, in this future Election, we ground all hopes of redemption from the Chains laid  
upon

upon the shoulders of this unfortunate and Loyal Nation !

Liberty and Independence are your Birth-Right : This right none but a lustful Tyrant would invade, none but an abject Slave would controvert : The great Charter of Nature gave it ; that of Antiquity kept peace with it ; and *written Compact* confirmed it. — These, Countrymen, are neither vague nor random expressions, I do not mean to impose ; — may they who do, perish in the attempt ! you have numberless deceivers among you ; venal Prostitutes, who are hired to throw dirt upon your Friends, to deny the most brilliant Truths, and cajole you, the patrons of truth, out of your apparent Interests ; and this in favour of those, who would pull down them and you and us all down ! of this number is the *driveling Author* of an *Appeal to the People of Ireland*, whom I should never condescend to notice, were it not for the Applauses he received from your Enemies, particularly the most abandoned Scribler from *Cork*, who calls himself *Anthony Litten*.

To shew you, Countrymen, what little claim you have to Liberty from Antiquity, what a Novel sound it is in the Island we live in, he denies that in ancient times we enjoyed any at all ; consequently that what we enjoy at present, is matter of meer Indulgence, a vague and revocable Act, as discretionary as it is modern ; where did our crazy wretch (if he be *ours*) conceive this Historical Sutterkin ? where did he learn his slavish and Heterodox Catechism, that the present Race have all the Liberty they want ? that they have as much Liberty as if they were born and lived in the very Capital of *British* Liberty ? is this the way to \* *express his regard for the Liberty and Prosperity of his dear Country* ? — But let me dismiss him for a while, to shew you what will be much more pleasing and edifying than any refutation

\* See the first Line of the *Appeal*.



of so contemptible a Dabber ; a short sketch of the figure which your native Country once made in *Europe*.

*Ireland* was first inhabited by the *Danmonians* and *Belgians* of *Britain* ; for this we have the concurrent Testimony of ancient Authors ; similitude of customs renders the account highly probable, and identity of Language demonstrates it. These *Britons* lived here *Freemen* according to the popular Plan of Government they brought along with them from their parent Country. By this migration they forfeited none of their natural Rights, any more than the latter Colonies Planted here by *Henry II.*—The least suspension of these Rights never occurred, even in Speculation, in those glorious days of true Liberty. *Britain* required no subservience of her Children ; no more than *Gaul*, of *Britain*, who first Colonized that Isle. It would be highly absurd to propose any such Terms, since no Freeman would quit a Land of Liberty, to be a Slave in any other.—These *British* Inhabitants, together with other Colonies, who coalesced with them, lived under a Monarchical form of Government, which *Ollam Fodla* (one of their Kings) reformed. That Legislator made this Constitution consist of three orders of Government, which took in the *Regal*, the *Aristocratic* and the *Popular* ; attributing to each no more Power than was deemed consistent, with the Liberty and wellbeing of the other two ; and the whole in their Co-operation performing *all the good* that can be expected from an equal, equitable, and well-poized Government. It resembled the present Constitution in several instances ; it differed in others ; in some for the better, and I think in some for the worse ; That Law, which required that the Kings and Nobles should be Elective, as well as the Commons, may, I think, be reckoned, among the latter. This frequent recourse to popular Elections of *all the three Orders*, bred Confusions ; but at the same time, we must acknowledge, they were only Temporary ; Liberty was the Price of all the mischiefs occasioned by them ; and whenever these Elections were conducted with Temper and love of Country,

Country, detached from private considerations, glorious times ensued.

No Person was allowed a Representative in the two first orders of this *Ollam Fodlian* Government, without shewing himself duely qualified by a thorough knowledge of the Laws and Constitution of the Country ; no Rank, no Title, no advantage of Birth, could interfere with this immutable Law ; and none was ever more rigorously observed. This gave Dignity to the *Fes of Teamor* (the Parliament of those times) for full 1200 years.----From this Fountain flowed true essential Liberty. King's who put themselves at the Head of a Faction, came generally and deservedly to a Tragical end in that honourable Post ; some at the head of the Nation came to the same end also, which we Lament ; in such cases (Cases which do not oft occur) the Constitution was *abused*, not *altered* ; Liberty always emerged out of those Contests ; the ancient forms, and ancient usages took place ; our Parents of *Britain* did not controul them, nor could they, if they would.

The reception of *Christianity*, in the fifth Century made no alteration in this plan of Government.—*Patrick-ap-Alphron* a *Britanic* Ecclesiastic planted the Gospel in *Ireland* ; and so far was he from using his great Authority, to the prejudice of Liberty, that he assisted in the great Council of the Nation to restore it, to its first principles of Purity. For near five Centuries after this great Event, *Ireland* made such a figure in *Europe* as no other Nation before or since could boast. It became the Throne of *Liberty*, the Emporium of *Literature*, and the Sanctuary of *Christianity*.-----Hither did Multitudes arrive every day from the Continent, for Protection and Instruction ; while the Western World was torn in pieces, on one side, by the *Heathen Goths*, and on the other, by the *Tyranny of Popery*.---*Egyptian* and *Antichristian* *Darkness* covered the whole Earth ; *Ireland* shone alone, and nothing shone out of it.

These

These accounts I have exhausted with some pains from ancient and modern Authors of great Authority ; and what I advanced concerning our ancient Constitution I have taken chiefly from *CUAN O'LOCHAN*, who Administrated the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the Death of *Malachy* II. (the last Monarch of the *Colmanian Race*) in the year 1022.----The Fragments we have left of that Author are very worthy the Perusal of the publick.--- But to return.----

In the ninth Century the affairs of *Ireland* changed greatly for the worse ; an inundation of barbarous *Heathen* Nations from *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Futland*, *Sleswick*, and *Holfstein* invaded the Island, and gave the Nation little rest for 200 years together ; Learning fled the Land ; a foreign War oppressed, and Domestic Faction weakened the Monarchy. The *Niallian House*, which governed *Ireland* for near 600 years, was laid aside, *Brian Borovey*, K. of *Munster*, a great and popular Man, stepped into the Throne, but *Donat* his Son, who attempted to bring in *Popery*, was expelled his Country, to die in the *Pope's* Arms. The other provincial Kings, following the example of *Brian Borovey*, contended for the Throne ; *Turlogh*, *Murkertach O'Lochlin*, and *Roderick* brought up the Rear of a Monarchy, which, from *Olam Fodla's* time, lasted for 1300 years ; it expired in the Hands of *Roderic*, who submitted to *Henry* II. of *England*, upon terms to which he was forced by the Intemperance, Frenzy, and fury of his own perverse Subjects.

*Henry* sent hither several Colonies from *Wales*, *England* and *Normandy*; he made no attempts on the Liberties of his free-born Subjects, and imposed no slavery on his adopted ones : Neither had any dependency upon *England*; but *England* oft depended upon them in her *French Wars*, where the People of *Ireland* reaped everlasting Laurels, and the *English* all the Profit.---What ensued, upon the Submission, not Conquest, of *Ireland*, may be found in the learned Historical relations of Sir *John Davis*, to whom



whom I refer: I will only mention one omission, so fully and masterly supplied by the late § Bishop of *Down*, viz. that the *English* were the first who introduced *Popery* into *Ireland*, to the utter extirpation of the *old pure Religion* planted here by the Ecclesiastics of *Britain*.---This, no doubt, was the most terrible stroke that Liberty ever received in this Country; but it argues nothing: The same Nation who imposed this cruel *Bondage*, assisted us in rooting it out again by their *Co-operation* with us in the *glorious* and *blessed Reformation*. They have our thanks for it and for every good office they do us; but I suppose they will not expect that *servile Dependency* from us in those days of *Light* and *Freedom*, which they never attempted to exact in those of *darkness* and *Superstition*. They are a great and generous Nation; if they are jealous of the least *Infringement* upon Liberty, they will not impose any difficulties upon the lovers and only asserters of it; they get one Million a year clear money by this Nation, and they have our Hearts and our Hands, our Treasure and our Blood upon every Emergency; of this they have the most signal instances in the course of thirty years, by our running to their succour during two unnatural *Rebellions*, which sprung up among them, in favour of a *Popish Pretender*.----'Tis impossible they should overlook or forget all this; they will therefore assist us in *improving our Constitution*; this we expect, as no subordinate advantages in this World can be an equivalent for it; no other expedient will or can render us a truly united People.

This Picture in Minature of our native Country, in ancient time, will, no doubt, be agreeable, in the present Conjuncture, to my loving Countrymen: the Features are comely and beautiful. I have taken and traced our ancient Government and Religion from their source; proved the one to be the *freest*, and the other the *purest*,

§ See Bishop *Hutchinson's* Defence of the Ancient *Irish* Historians, and also Primate *Usher's* incomparable Book on the Religion of the ancient *Irish*, both printed in *Dublin*, 1734.

that

that ever existed in the World : That originally, as well as in latter Ages, this Country was Colonized by *Britain*, without any Subjection to *Britain* ; and finally, that the present Generation did more for *England*, and deserves more from *England*, than any which ever went before it : I did all this from honest and worthy Motives ; I laboured to edify not to inflame ; to unfold the original rights, the true connections of *this Nation*, without any Collision with the Rights of *any other*. Very different were the Motives of the Author of the *Appeal*, who, to shew you (Countrymen) that you are the happiest People who ever breathed in *Ireland*, represents this Land as the “ *Hell of Devils rather than the Habitation of Men, in former Ages* ;” ----for such is his coarse and scurrilous Phrase, and such his low Artifice, that he instances in the *Coin, Livery, and Cosherings* of latter times ; of the times of Popery and Superstition ; grievances which have been long removed, with the causes that occasioned them. ———’Tis really matter of most mortifying Reflection, after a research into the Annals of this and all other free Countries, to find the present condition of it, in many instances, without a Parallel ; to find the honest attempts for its relief turned into Mockery ; the efforts for its prosperity seditiously and wantonly counteracted, its rights in the common interests of a *free People* impudently controverted by this *cold Author*, and his *Associates in the cause of Slavery* ! ----was it ever before denied (until this low Animal entered the Lists against Mr. *Lucas*) that subjection to the Laws and Constitution of this free Country constitutes the true Criterion of Loyalty, and the reverse *Treason* ; that to be bound to Laws, to which we give our own Assent, is the only Basis of Liberty, the *Palladium* of Security ; and the reverse constitutes the essence of *Slavery*. Such (Countrymen) is the Candour, Virtue, and Patriotism of this modest *Appellant*, who would thus cull your happiness, out of the supposed slavery of a brave and free Ancestry ; who thus heaves against the most signal Evidence of Facts, and fancies you such Ideots as are capable of swallowing such crude Schemes of Government,

as must render your selves and your Posterity irredeemably unhappy, eternally ignominious.—Can it at this day be a matter of controversy, an affair of Political decision, whether we have a right to the Laws and Constitution of our Fathers ? or to live subject to the dictates of incompatible Legislatures ? shall this Country, once (according to *Cornelius Tacitus*) the Seat of Commerce to the *Western World*, have now hardly a Port open to it ? shall we, blessed with the most fruitful Soil, and most temperate Climate in all the *Northern Countries*, be upon worse terms of Liberty and Commerce than our Predecessors in the days of *Tacitus* ? and this at a time when we lie the fairest of any Nation in *Europe*, for both ; when the discovery of the *new World*, has cut off all the disadvantages of our former remote situation, and has pointed at *this Island* for the center of Traffic to the *East and West* ?

Such were the Points contended for by Mr. *Lucas*, in his honest and Loyal Application to the Throne, *the Fountain of Justice* ; and such his Crime ; such was the Crime of other great Patriots, and particularly of *Dean Swift*, the Geneus of Liberty, while amongst us ! and, living or dead, an Ornament to his Country, and to Mankind !—and yet, says our *Fairy Appellant*, “ it is enough to make any sincere Friend of *Ireland*, who loves his Country, and seeks its true Interest, Tremble to Read such violent Addresses ”.—slavish and abandoned beyond all the examples of Prostitution in former or recent Ages, must the Author of such a Position be, who would thus debar all honest intercourse between the Subject and the Throne, and stop the Royal Ear from any attention to the Grievances of the most Loyal People that ever Monarch ruled over. But I have followed this Author, too far, through these miry Paths, in which it is his Fate, and his due to wallow.

Consider, Countrymen, that the Poison thus shed by the *Scribblers against their Conntry*, carries along with it its own Antidote ; one of these Truants informs you,



in explicate terms, † “ that your *Wealth* belongs to  
 “ *England*; that tho’ you laboriously gather the *Honey*  
 “ you have the *Wax* for your Pains; nay that your a-  
 “ bundance is thrown into the Lap of her, who by  
 “ her powerful Protection inables you to gather it for  
 “ her.”—Need I quote more from this *Siberian*, this  
*Scurrilous Slave*? may all the Patrons and Abettors of  
 Servitude never meet with a more powerful Advocate.  
 May he raise the indignation of his Employers, as he  
 does our Contempt.—His relation to both cannot truly  
 Rob him of this Reward.

Let not (my Countrymen) a few *pestilent Wretches*  
 among us, give you the least disturbance, they may serve  
 for *Buoys* upon the *Rocks* you must take care to avoid;  
 but let your *greater Enemies* know, that you are Men  
 and Freemen, that neither *Bribery* nor *Corruption* ever  
 got the least footing in this Chaste Land, and that, in this  
 circumstance alone, you preserve an Interest in Liberty,  
 which never yet existed in the unhallowed Countries of  
 Prostitution and Venality. Let that Interest be extended  
 and preserved; let the glory and advantages occruing  
 from it be your Reward, and let the *Freemen of Dublin*  
 in the present important Conjunction shew the way!  
 yes Citizens, I repeat it again, upon your present steady  
 conduct depends your own and the interest of the  
 whole Nation; and against this the *Powers of Hell*  
 cannot prevail, if you do not slacken in the glorious and  
 envied Spirit raised among you.---Take those who raised  
 it, and those who suffer for it, priviously into your  
 care, and Arm those Champions of Liberty with the  
 great influence you have in the grand Council of the  
 Nation; no other but this step can ensure you these  
 blessings of *Independency* and *Freedom*, which you may  
 never again have so fair an opportunity to contend for.

† The *Cork Surgeon*. N<sup>o</sup> 2. p. 7.

LONDON-DERRY.

Sept. 30. 1749.

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